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AUTHOR Nesterenko, Alexander; Smith, C. Zoe
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ABSTRACT

A two-phase study was conducted to compare individuals' perceptions of American life with their perceptions of Robert Frank's "The Americans," a book of photographs. In the first phase, a projective technique was used to elicit verbal responses about a sample of Frank's photographs. In the second phase, a representative sample of opinion statements from the subjects' protocols were used for a Q-methodological study of perceptions. Six students from a photojournalism class conducted interviews with 103 liberal arts students and showed them 1 photograph from each of 8 areas--patriotism, povery, racism, urban life, hignways, crowds, interiors of public places, and affected women--in 3 steps: (1) 5-second exposure; (2) indefinite exposure for as long as it held the subject's interest; and (3) story construction in which the subject constructed a story from all the photographs. In the second phase, the subjects Q-sorted the opinion statements from phase 1 according to three conditions: to represent what they believed the photographs communicate about American life, to imagine they had a set of photographs that depicted American life as they saw it, and to imagine they had a set of photographs that depicted American life in an ideal sense. Results indicated that the subjects rejected Frank's photographs not because they were unrepresentative of American life but because they evoked feelings of alienation. (JL)

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American Life as Represented by Robert Frank's The Americans: A Study of Self-Projections

by

Alexander Nesterenko

(University of Tulsa)

C. Zoe Smith

(Marquette University)

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I. Introduction

Nearly 25 years ago, a book of 83 black-and-white photographs was published in France that was to revolutionize the style of American documentary photography, particularly that approached in the "street photography" mode. These photographs first were unwelcomed by American publishers and gallery owners; It was not until the Robert Delphire edition of Les Americains appeared in 1958 that Robert Louis Frank was able to persuade Grove Press in the United States to publish his work a year later. Since that time, Frank has been credited with spawning numerous "no-nonsense" photographic talents in the 1960s and 1970s, including Diane Arbus, Bruce Davidson, Danny Lyon, Larry Clark, Lee Friedlander, Garry Winogrand, Ralph Gibson, Danny Seymour, and Helen Levitt.

Most photographers earn significant reputations only after working for years, producing hundreds of images for publication and exhibition. However, a few 20th-century photographers have become "cult figures" in a relatively short time and with only a limited body of work. Frank is one of those rare individuals. Known primarily for The Americans (he left still-photography for filmmaking), Frank is widely recognized for bringing a new realism to photography in the 1950s, a decade which is characterized by the sentimentality of Edward Steichen's "The Family of Man" exhibition and book and the optimism that brightened the pages of Life and Look. In recent years, The Americans has been credited with establishing "the narrative of photographic sequence..." (Cousinneau 1978-79: 59). Another critic said "...Frank's influence went further: his way of seeing changed--expanded--the way most educated Americans

saw their country" (Stott 1974: 84). Yet another author said, "For 20 years, Frank has had an unintentional stranglehold on photography, which is tribute enough to his genius" (Hellman and Hoshino 1979: 18).

The past three years has seen a great increase in the number of articles and books which address the issue of Frank's influence on American photography, although no empirical study is found among these writings. Nevertheless, these accolades are in sharp contrast to the criticism his book engendered when it first appeared in this country. The Americans was largely ignored in the late 1950s, but the reactions it did receive at that time were highly negative. The newly-founded Aperture journal and well-established Popular Photography agreed that Frank's work was un-American and unduly critical of life in this country. Seven Popular Photography editors critiqued the book in a May 1960 article entitled "An Off-Beat View of the U.S.A." (Barry et al 1960: 104-106); their comments included the following:

> Overall, he has created...a wart-covered picture of America. If this is America...then we should burn it down completely and start all over again. According to Mr. Frank's observations 200 years of goofing have taken place.
>
> It is doubtful that he really thinks all Americans are simple beer-drinking, jukebox-playing, pompous, selfish, intolerant, money-worshipping, flag-waving, sacrilegious, insensitive folks. Therefore, it is only logical to conclude that this book is an attack on the United States.
>
> The book is not about Americans but about a wild, sad, disturbed, adolescent, and largely mythical world, the world of the Beat Generation...But as to the nature of that vision, I found its purity too often marred by spite, bitterness, and narrow prejudices just as so many of the prints are flawed by meaningless blur, grain, muddy exposures, drunken horizons, and general sloppiness.
>
> On his Guggenheim-sponsored jaunts across the country, Frank has concentrated almost exclusively on the tawdry, the lonely, and the sad images which are part, but not all, of American life.

> The serious question is this: Do such personal statements merit publication?...In the case of Robert Frank, one wonders if his pictures contribute to our knowledge of anything other than the personality of Robert Frank...You will find the same studious inattention to the skill of craft, the same desire to shock and provide cheap thrills...you may find The Americans one of the most irritating photo books to make the scene.

Encouraging words were given by a few of the Popular Photography editors, only one of which was basically sympathetic and his remarks were overshadowed by these scathing observations. There was little market for photographic books at that time, so it is not too surprising that The Americans did not sell very well, particularly in light of its "not-so-pretty" depiction of American life. However, the most recent edition, published in 1978 by Aperture, has sold over 10,000 copies which at $25 for the hardback edition is considered a "good sale," according to a spokesman for the publisher. (Other Aperture books have sold in much greater volume, such as Diane Arbus' monograph which has sold approximately 150,000 copies since its publication in 1972.)

Frank's photographs of an empty roadhouse cafe, a faceless tuba player at an Adlai Stevenson rally, an urban newsstand, a segregated New Orleans trolley, endless miles of empty, flat blacktop, a dingy mining town, a crowded city sidewalk, a well-dressed socialite, a drugstore cowboy, a strip development, a drive-in movie, a bus depot, and a weary waitress must have struck a nerve in Americans who were striving for the "American dream." Television programs and movie musicals of the 1970s would have us believe the 1950s were a time of innocence and relative economic prosperity, a time for rebuilding and calm after World War II. Popular visions of that decade also center on the advent of television, a grandfatherly president by the name of Dwight Eisenhower, and the country's growing military, scientific, and technological strength. However, the 1950s also were characterized by the underlying tension of the cold war, the Korean conflict, increasing racial unrest, and McCarthyism.

Frank was witness to this uneasiness. As John Brumfield points out (1980: 8), "By 1955, a malaise had settled upon the country like a persistently foul odor, a stale darkness, exuded, as it were, from the deepest recesses of the body politic; and it was to this, this bleak and dreary American ambiance, that Frank began to address himself." Precisely how Frank was able to see this undercurrent in American life is not known but surely his position as an emigrant must have contributed to his unique vision, or "dumb amazement" as John Szarkowski has said (1973: 176).

Born November 9, 1924 in Zurich, Switzerland, Frank stepped onto American soil for the first time in March 1947. In the early 1940s, Frank had been a serious student of photography, apprenticing himself to Hermann Eidenbenz, Michael Wolgensinger, and Basle in Zurich, and for a year he was a photographer at Gloria Films in the same city. Frank was quite young when he arrived in this country, but yet accomplished enough to receive his first exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1948 (four more MOMA shows followed over the next seven years), and he began to photograph fashion for Harper's Bazaar, where he received encouragement from art director Alexi Brodovitch. From 1948 to 1955 Frank freelanced, publishing his work in Fortune, Look, Life, Junior Bazaar, McCall's, and the New York Times. During these years, he associated with major figures of the "Beat Generation," including Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac, whose memorable text accompanied Frank's photographs in the first edition of The Americans.

With the recommendation of noted photographer Walker Evans, Frank applied for a Guggenheim fellowship and in 1955 was the first European photographer to receive the prestigeous award. The fellowship enabled him to travel around the country by car for a year, creating the images which then were published in Les Américains. Numerous recently-published articles have pointed to the

influence Evans had on Frank; Evans was the one photographer who responded favorably toward Frank's book in 1957 when he said: "He shows high irony towards a nation that generally speaking has it not...This bracing, almost stinging manner is seldom seen in a sustained collection of photographs... Frank has responded to America with many tears, some hope, and his own brand of fascination...Irony and detachment: these are part of the equipment of the critic..." (Evans 1957).

In describing his own work, Frank, too, has characterized himself as a critic with a camera: "Opinion often consists of a kind of criticism," he said just prior to the publication of Les Américains. "But criticism can come out of love. It is important to see what is invisible to others--perhaps the look of hope or the look of sadness" (Stevens 1979: 38).

By the end of the 1950s, Frank had put away his camera. He said all he wanted to say in The Americans, not wanting to repeat himself in the coming years. Historian William Stott (1978: 88) argues that "...so keenly did he believe the vision it conveyed that he felt he could do nothing new with the art that would be of equivalent value. His renunciation, far from belittling what had gone before, insisted on its importance." Although the power of Frank's vision of America was not truly appreciated until two more decades had passed, the importance of his work was to be felt.

The recent "discovery" of Frank's photographic essay is in part attributable to the burgeoning interest in photography by connoisseurs and amateurs alike. However, this could also signify that the emotional and ideological tenor in America is presently more accomodating to Frank's depictions of the country than was possible in the 1950s.

In this connection, it might be proposed that the social movements of the 1960s have changed American thought, such that Americans are now prepared to

examine or accept the critical perspective offered in The Americans. Indeed, the 1960s are frequently credited for having paved the way for greater social consciousness, honesty, sensitivity, and the like. In The Greening of America, for example, Charles Reich (1970) held much promise for the social movements of the 1960s and their impact on the future of the country. Quite optimistically, perhaps naively, Reich viewed the "new consciousness" of the 1960s as a kind of intellectual liberation that was to create a more humane society. However, Reich's purely personal statement is unacceptable as evidence that the 1960s had significant and enduring impact on either the American youth or the populace as such.

A more thorough scholar of history and American culture, Joseph Conlin (1982: 4), observes that although the mood of the 1960s left us for a while, it is making a resurgence. Conlin remarks that "in our fad-sensitive society, the sixties are 'coming back into style.'" He humorously notes that "By the late 1970s, one apologized in certain circles for not jogging, not being a woman, not being homosexual" (Conlin 1982: 341).

Even though the 1960s may be coming back into style, Conlin suggests that the ideology of the 1960s did not lead to liberalization in American thinking. Instead, Conlin (1982: 5) views the 1960s as "not humanistic, not selfless, not social, radical, or political." He goes further (1982: 4) to say that...

> ...the Movement of the sixties, and particularly the response of the American intelligensia to it...killed what there was of a radical political tradition in this country, killed it cold dead as avowed enemies of radicalism were never quite able to do.

Conlin and Reich represent two very different positions. If Reich is correct that profound social transformations have occurred in American attitudes and perceptions, then the interest in Frank since the late 1970s could also be attributed to the "greening" of America. This is not to say

that Frank's essay would necessarily be perceived as "true to form," as an accurate depiction of American life. However, one might minimally expect a more favorable disposition toward his work, perhaps a recognition that The Americans conveys a plausible view of America: this would be a significant deviation from the early responses to his work.

If, on the other hand, no substantial changes in American ideology have ensued in the intervening years, as Conlin maintains, then we would surmize that Frank's work is accepted primarily as a creative artifact that holds significance for a select group of connoisseurs and students of photography. Furthermore, those who are not part of this group would likely view The Americans as contrary to their perceptions. It is of considerable interest, therefore, to determine the extent to which Frank's portrayal of America is in keeping with present-day perceptions of American life.

II. The Study

The primary purpose of the following study is to compare individuals' perceptions of American life with their perceptions of Robert Frank's The Americans. Although we recognized that the issue regarding the influence of the 1960s on American thought bears on the question at hand, it was not our intention to give it formal consideration. However, it is evident that the findings presented here have implications for this matter as well.

A two-phase study was developed. In the first phase, projective technique was used to elicit verbal responses (opinion statements) about a sample of Frank's photographs. The second phase involved the selection of a representative sample of opinion statements from the subjects' protocols for a Q-methodological study of perceptions (Stephenson 1953). The two phases are briefly described below.

Phase 1: Projective Technique

A function of projective technique is to facilitate communication about some issue or social situation through the use of a visual stimulus. For example, most are familiar with the Rorschach Test: an individual is shown an abstract image and is asked to verbally report what he or she thinks the image represents. In their efforts to verbalize about the visual stimulus, individuals project covert (inhibited) and unconscious (partially repressed) tendencies. Virtually any visual image(s) can be used for projective study, such as a photograph, graphic, or a film, depending on the nature of the research problem. It should be underscored that the resulting protocols provide literary creations that reveal aspects of individuals' personalities. Regarding projection, Henry Murray (1938: 531) noted the following:

> [Projection]...is based upon the well-recognized fact that when a person interprets an ambiguous social situation he is apt to expose his own personality as much as the phenomenon to which he is attending. Absorbed in his attempt to explain the objective occurrence, he becomes naively unconscious of himself and of the scrutiny of others and, therefore, defensively less vigilant...he is disclosing certain inner tendencies and cathexes: wishes, fears, and traces of past experiences.

We used three criteria in selecting photographs from Frank's essay for the projective study. First, we recognized that a great many of Frank's photographs incorporate a time element. For example, we excluded photographs that depict the automobiles and fashions of the 1950s. We wanted to avoid such time-bound photographs so that individuals could concentrate more on the meaning of the photographs and less on artifactual differences between the 1950s and the present. Second, as far as possible we hoped to represent the range of subject matter in Frank's essay. We defined Frank's photographs as broadly representing eight topics of subject matter: (1) patriotism,

(2) poverty, (3) racism, (4) urban life, (5) highways, (6) crowds, (7) interiors of public places, and (8) affected women. Third, we wished to use a relatively small number of photographs in order to maintain the subjects' interest. With these criteria in mind, we selected one photograph from each of the eight categories. These are presented in Figure 1.

Six students, enrolled in a photojournalism class at a southwestern university during the fall semester of 1980, were trained to conduct interviews. A list of students enrolled in liberal arts (approximately 1,500) was used as the sampling frame. From this list, 200 students were selected at random and contacted by telephone by the student interviewers to determine if they would be willing to give their responses and opinions about photographs depicting American life. Of the 200, 103 (48 males and 55 females) consented to be interviewed.

Each student interviewer was given a copy of the eight Frank photographs: photographs were copied on 4" X 5" black-and-white film, enlarged to approximately 5" X 7" dimensions, and flush-mounted on separate boards. Student interviewers were given tape racorders with which to record the interviews, but were instructed to transcribe only statements of opinion. Subjects were not told the identity of the photographer. When questioned if they had ever seen the photographs, subjects reported that they were unfamiliar with the photographs prior to the interview. Furthermore, subjects indicated that they had no serious interest in photography. Subjects were separately interviewed and were shown the eight photographs three times during the interview. Student interviewers were instructed to use the following three-step procedure intended to give subjects various opportunities to verbalize their feelings and impressions.

Step 1: Five Second Exposure

Show each of the eight photographs in order. Keep the eight photographs face-down. Raise a photograph from the pile and show it to the subject for five seconds. Put the photograph aside and ask for the person's immediate impression. Proceed to the next photograph and repeat the process until you have shown all eight photographs.

Step 2: Indefinite Exposure

Next, show each of the eight photographs in order for as long as the person holds interest and continues to verbalize about them. Keep the photographs face-down. Raise a photograph from the pile and show it to the person. If the person has difficulty responding, ask what the photograph is communicating, what attracts or repells him or her, and if they agree or disagree with the photograph. Also, ask the person to create a story about each photograph. Proceed to the next photograph and repeat the process until you have shown all eight photographs.

Step 3: Story Construction

Display all eight photographs before the person and ask him or her to construct a story about the photographs as a whole. Next, ask each person to imagine a set of photographs that depict American life as they see it. Have each person describe his or her view of American life. Finally, ask each person to imagine a set of photographs that depict American life as they would like it to be. Have each person describe his or her "ideal" view of American life.

Phase 2: Q-technique

Approximately 150 opinion statements from the interviews with 103 subjects were transcribed onto index cards (one statement per card). Because many of the statements were similar, overlapping statements were combined into one statement to reflect the content and meaning of the statements in the group. This resulted in 15 statements reflecting a positive view of American life and 17 statements reflecting a negative view of American life. In order to provide balance to the sample of statements, 15 positive and 15 negative statements were selected for use in the Q-study. The sample of 30 opinion

statements (Q-sample) is presented in Table 1.

From the sample of 103 subjects, 40 subjects (20 males and 20 females) were selected at random to take part in the Q-sorting (ranking of statements along a continuum). Of these, 26 subjects (13 males and 13 females) agreed to Q-sort the 30 statements. The 26 subjects are American-born Caucasians between the ages of 19 and 24. It should be pointed out that a sample of university students was not selected as a matter of convenience. We had predicted that American perceptions had not fundamentally changed in the past two decades, and that individuals would probably be quite negatively disposed toward Frank's photographs. It was our intention, however, to provide ample opportunity for evidence of acceptance or approval of Frank's photographs to emerge. Thus, we selected a sample that would consist of individuals who are likely to be "critical" in their views about American life, as might be expected from university students enrolled in a liberal arts curriculum.

We suggest Q-methodology offers an appropriate empirical basis for a systematic study of perceptions. First, Q-methodology is an appropriate methodology where subjective matters are at issue, and where the individual, not the researcher, is best able to assess his or her perceptions, opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and so forth (Stephenson 1972: 17-36). Second, Q-methodology is centrally concerned with "subjective communicability" (Stephenson 1968: 499-501); that is from the standpoint of Q-methodology, there is a range of opinion (subjective communication) about every issue. This range of opinion or "universe of discourse" is what William Stephenson (1978: 21-40) calls a communication concourse. Through the operation of Q-sorting, an individual provides a model of his or her point of view, and thus, positions himself or herself with respect to the communication concourse. Third, the Q-sort data and the resulting Q-factors are operant (Stephenson 1970: 22-48); that is, Q-data and

Q-factors are not crucially dependent upon the technique employed. Therefore, the findings are representative of individuals' subjectivity (perceptions, opinions, beliefs, attitudes, etc.): they are not artifacts of test construction effects. In recent years, Stephenson has endeavored to demonstrate the relevance of Q-methodology to communication. Much more can be said about Q-methodology, and the reader is advised to consult Stephenson's writings, some of which are referenced in this paper.

Each of the 26 subjects was asked to Q-sort the statements from the three conditions of instruction which follow:

Condition 1: Q-sort the statements to represent what you believe the photographs communicate about American life. (Subjects were shown the eight Frank photographs as they Q-sorted the statements.)

Condition 2: Imagine you have a set of photographs that depict American life as you see it. Q-sort the statements to represent what your photographs would communicate about American life.

Condition 3: Imagine you have a set of photographs that depict American life in an ideal sense, as you would like it to be. Q-sort the statements to represent what these "ideal" photographs would communicate about American life.

The technique of Q-sorting is based on a psychological principle similar to that involved in projective technique, in the sense that Q-sorts are performed in terms of self-reference (Stephenson 1982: 37-57). In the present study, subjects performed Q-sorts with respect to feelings about American life that are part of their experiential fields. Thus, Conditions 1, 2, and 3 provide systematic information about aspects of each subject's personality.

Ostensibly, Condition 2 appears to ask for a "self" view about American life. However, Conditions 1 and 3 also ask for "self" views. The difference between Conditions 1 and 2 is that Condition 1 allows subjects to attribute

meaning to Frank's photographs: subjects can "pretend" that the "meaning is in the photographs," rather than within their own repertoire of feelings and experiences. Thus, the situation created by Condition 1 is less threatening in that subjects need not feel personally responsible for their expressions about American life.

The situation created by Condition 2, on the other hand, required subjects to commit themselves to a position. Erving Goffman (1959), among others, indicates that such publicly-stated views are typically formulated to be congruent with social rhetoric or with the expectations of "significant-others." We hasten to point out, however, that although it may appear as if Condition 1 provides a more "accurate" representation of the subjects' feelings and experiences, the two conditions are perhaps more appropriately regarded as different levels of reality, with neither being more accurate or true.

Condition 3 was included for comparative purposes in order to determine the relationship of subjects' idealized perceptions of American life to their present perceptions of America as well as their perceptions of Frank's photographs. Carl Rogers (1961) has suggested that analysis of "self-and-ideal" congruity leads to a more dynamic understanding of conceptual structure. He points out that it is the self-concept that is most likely to change. The "self-ideal," on the other hand, is much more stable and enduring. In the context of this study, therefore, Condition 3 represents what might be referred to as the "American dream"--an idealized conception of American life. As we have seen from early criticisms of Frank's work, it would appear that Frank may have violated idealized conceptions of America. Thus, we felt that Condition 3 would prove valuable in the interpretation of perceptions.

Subjects were each provided with a set of the 30 statements and forms on which to record their responses. Each subject performed one condition of

instruction per day. The following frequency distribution of statements was used in Q-sorting.

	High Positive Feeling					(N=30) Neutral				High Negative Feeling	
value	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
frequency	(1)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(1)

IV. Interpretation of the Factors

The three sets of 26 Q-sorts were separately factor analyzed. Q-data were submitted for centroid factor analysis with interative communalities,[1] and centroid factors that satisfied the Guilford-Lacey criterion for statistical significance[2] were further submitted for varimax rotation. Subjects receiving a factor loading equal to or greater than ±.40 on one factor and less that ±.40 on subsequent factors were "assigned" to the factor on which they received their most substantial loading. Subjects who did not meet this criterion remained unassigned. "Statement" factor-scores[3] were estimated on the basis of the data for subjects assigned to factors. It might be noted that the "assignment" criterion was used as a guideline. In a few cases, subjects who slightly deviated from the criterion were assigned and included in the estimation of factor-scores.

Condition 1 (perceptions of Frank's photographs) produced three factors. Condition 2 (perceptions of America) also produced three factors. Condition 3 (perceptions of "ideal" America) produced but one factor. The three factor matrices are presented in Table 2, and the factor correlation matrix (for the seven factors) is given in Table 3.

Some interpretation is possible on the basis of these two tables. First, it is apparent from the factor structure (Table 2) that subjects display con-

siderable agreement about what they believe to be Frank's portrayal of American life (Condition 1). Although Condition 1 offers three factors, Factor A accounts for 15 of the 26 subjects (or 15 of the 20 subjects who are assigned). Factors B and C, on the other hand, account for three and two subjects, respectively. Thus, Factor A might be regarded as "most significant" of the three because it represents a majority view.

Turning to Condition 2, there is no discernable majority view as such. Factor A accounts for 10 subjects, Factor B accounts for seven subjects, Factor C accounts for five subjects, and four subjects are unassigned. Condition 3 produced only one factor (one subject unassigned), which indicates that there is a unified perspective regarding what subjects feel constitutes "ideal" America.

The factor correlation matrix (Table 3) points out several important matters. First, Factor A, the majority view of Condition 1 (perceptions of Frank's photographs), correlates highly negatively (-.92) with the "ideal" factor of Condition 3. In other words, the photographs are perceived as virtually opposed to an ideal view of American life. However, the "ideal" factor correlates highly positively (+.86 and +.74, respectively) with Factors A and B of Condition 2 (perceptions of America). These high positive correlations suggest that the subjects' two views of American life are virtually synonymous with what they believe to be ideal. Furthermore, Factor A of Condition 1 (perceptions of Frank's photographs) correlates highly negatively (-.88 and -.70, respectively) with Factors A and B of Condition 2 (perceptions of America). Also, Factors A and B of Condition 2 are substantially and positively intercorrelated (+.59), which indicates that the two views represented by the factors are somewhat similar.

The factors indicate that Frank's photographs oppose an ideal perception

of American life as well as the subjects' perceptions of America, which are themselves idealized perspectives. The high positive correlations between Factors A and B of Condition 2 (perceptions of America) and the "ideal" factor suggest that subjects consciously commit themselves to accepting the status quo, which they regard as inherently ideal. However, the high negative correlations between Factor A of Condition 1 and Factors A and B of Condition 2 as well as the "ideal" factor suggest yet another finding.

As previously mentioned, projective technique and Q-technique can provide information about subjective behavior. In this regard, Factor A of Condition 1 reflects subjective experience, whereas Conditions 2 and 3 provide information about consciously-created positions about America and "ideal" America. Thus, Factor A of Condition 1 indicates that subjects are unconsciously aware that America is indeed not ideal, that there are difficulties and inequities. The factor structure further suggests a defensiveness on the part of the subjects. In other words, Frank's photographs are rejected not necessarily because his portrayal is "unfair" or "un-American," but because his photographs are symbolic of the negative side of America. More specifically, Factor A and Condition 1, and its interrelationship with the factors of Conditions 2 and 3, indicates that Frank's photographs evoke negative feelings that are part of the subjects' experiential repertoires. However, it is also apparent from the factor structure that the subjects are unwilling to give these feelings conscious acceptance.

Further interpretation of the factors is possible. Each factor provides a table of factor-scored statements derived from the weighted averages of the data for subjects assigned to a factor. When arranged in descending order, the list of statements forms a "theoretical Q-sort" that offers evidence for the particular perceptions underpinning the subjects' responses. The following

interpretation of the factors is limited to the 12 statements at the extremities of the theoretical Q-sort (statements corresponding to the ±5,±4, and ±3 positions on the Q-sort continuum); that is, statements that evoke strong feelings, either positive or negative.

Condition 1: Perceptions of Frank's Photographs

In Condition 1, subjects were asked to provide Q-sorts that characterize what they believe Frank's photographs communicate about American life. Factor A is most significant because it represents a majority of the subjects.

Factor A: America as an Alienated Society

The theme for Factor A is quite negative, as the following array of statements suggests.

		Z-score
9.	America is a lonely place, a big lonely place of unhappy people.	1.68
8.	There is no warmth or caring: it is an anticeptic view of American life.	1.48
20.	These photographs represent a de-humanized people: de-humanization knows no nationality or color.	1.34
14.	It's as if we are all doing something, but no one else is watching: we're all too busy acting.	1.21
18.	Americans preoccupy themselves with other things, probably so that they need not communicate with each other.	1.17
10.	Call it what you will--technology, science, progress--Americans are controlled and conquered by it.	1.12
29.	The American dream is the highway we'd all like to travel.	-1.17
16.	There is remarkable simplicity and harmony in American life.	-1.29
21.	Despite what else these photographs might suggest, they emphasize pride in America and American values.	-1.31

		Z-score
28.	Although it may not seemlike it at times, Americans are "in touch" with each other: Americans enjoy sympathy of understanding.	-1.33
22.	Americans enjoy fun, pleasure, and glamour.	-1.45
2.	These photographs are a testimonial to the potential of American life.	-1.63

The subjects believe that Frank's photographs portray America as a "big lonely place of unhappy people" (stmt. 9) in which "there is no warmth or caring" (stmt. 8). America is a land of "de-humanized people" (stmt. 20); de-humanized at least in part by "technology, science, progress" (stmt. 10). All this is surely negative and in opposition to an ideal view of American life.

However, of particular interest is the emphasis given to the lack of communication among Americans, that there is a feeling of separation and loneliness inherent in American society; that is, "Americans preoccupy themselves with other things...that they need not communicate with each other" (stmt. 18), and "...we are all doing something, but no one else is watching..." (stmt. 14), and also, "Americans are [not] 'in touch' with each other..." (stmt. 28).

Other statements in the array further underscore the negative attitude of Factor A. Apparently, the subjects do not regard the photographs as extolling American life or pride in American values (stmts. 2, 21). Furthermore, the photographs neither depict a harmonious society (stmt. 16), nor do they exemplify pleasurable aspects of American life (stmt. 22). Indeed, the subjects feel that Frank's photographs essentially denegrate the "American dream" (stmt. 29).

Thus, it seems that Factor A interprets America as an "alientated society," variously described as lonely, de-humanized, uncommunicative, out-of-touch, uncaring, and so forth. The theme of alienation has been discussed by many.

As Joachim Israel (1971: 5-6) points out, the term "alienation" is used in two senses, one referring to "sociological processes" and the other to "psychological states." Although sociological process is implicit in the study, alienation, as it is considered here, is more centrally related to the subjects' psychological states. Melvin Seeman (1961: 753-758) distinguishes five psychological states of alienation, namely "powerlessness," "meaninglessness," "normlessness," "isolation," and "self-estrangement."

In this connection, it appears that Factor A embraces several of these psychological manifestations. For example, "powerlessness" is reflected in statement 10: "Call it what you will...Americans are controlled and conquered by it." Furthermore, "meaninglessness" is exemplified by statement 16: "There is [not] remarkable simplicity and harmony in American life." "Normlessness" is represented by various statements, though in particular by statement 21: "Despite what else these photographs might suggest, they [do not] emphasize pride in America and American values." Also, statements 9, 8, and 28 are indicative of a perception that the individual is "isolated" from the society as a whole: "America is a...big lonely place..." and "There is no warmth and caring..." and "...Americans are [not] 'in touch' with each other...." Finally, statements 14 and 18 suggest an emphasis on "self-estrangement:" "...no one else is watching: we're all too busy acting," and "Americans preoccupy themselves...so that they need not communicate with each other."

Thus, in light of Seeman's theoretical characterizations, the statement array presents an image of an alienated society. It should be underscored that the subjects projected their own feelings and experiences about America. It is not that the photographs depict alienation, per se, but that the photographs evoke feelings of alienation which are part of the subjects' experiential repertoires.

Factor B: The Painful Ideal of the American Dream

Factor B, a minority view representing three subjects, deviates considerably from Factor A. Factor B is quite romantic in its perspective and regards some of the alienating aspects (evident in Factor A) in positive terms, as part of the "American dream." The statement array is as follows:

		Z-score
16.	There is remarkable simplicity and harmony in American life.	2.02
9.	America is a lonely place, a big lonely place of unhappy people.	1.85
29.	The American dream is the highway we'd all like to travel.	1.26
13.	The farther along one goes in life, the less others seem to care.	0.95
26.	Americans are rarely satisfied, and continue to search for something else in life.	0.95
23.	A tribute to the pain and suffering in American life.	0.92
5.	Americans display their patriotism to the extent that the country is largely de-valued and de-graded.	-0.82
22.	Americans enjoy fun, pleasure, and glamour.	-0.83
24.	These photographs represent fear of separation and change.	-0.98
20.	These photographs represent a de-humanized people: de-humanization knows no nationality or color.	-1.49
1.	Only an American could appreciate these photographs.	-1.57
3.	This is a parody of American life: any American could tell you that.	-2.05

Factor B agrees with Factor A that "America is a lonely place..of unhappy people" (stmt. 9). The two factors also agree that the Frank photographs do not depict Americans as having much fun (stmt. 22). Thus far, Factors A and B concur that the photographs present American life as generally unhappy.

However, unlike Factor A, Factor B finds redeeming value in this malaise.

It appears that Factor B displays a kind of romanticized individualism. Although Factor B maintains that "the farther along one goes in life, the less others seem to care" (stmt. 13), it finds solice in the idea that "there is remarkable simplicity and harmony in American life" (stmt 16), and that "the American dream is the highway we'd all like to travel" (stmt. 29). Factor B's agreement that "Americans are rarely satisfied and continue to search for something else in life" (stmt. 26) further suggests an emphasis on individuality; and, this lonely search for self-satisfaction is "A tribute to the pain and suffering in American life" (stmt. 23).

However, Factor B neither regards the situation as "de-humanizing" (stmt. 20), nor involving "...fear of separation and change" (stmt. 24), which again stresses the preeminence and self-sufficiency of the individual in American society. Rather, this singular search is part-and-parcel of America, which Americans are believed to accept and support (stmt. 5).

Although Factor B concurs with Factor A that American life is essentially lonely and unhappy, it accepts the circumstances and may actually find the loneliness desirable. Moreover, this perception of American life is quite real for Factor B (stmt. 3), such that Factor B maintains that the reality is evident to anyone who cares to look (stmt. 1).

Factor C: Mixed Attributions

Factor C, consisting of only two subjects, correlates -.31 and -.15, respectively, with Factors A and B. This indicates that Factor C is substantially different from either of these two factors. The statement array is as follows:

		Z-score
30.	One must have the good sense to realize that any photograph of American life is only an experiment: it could never be an accurate portrayal.	1.66
28.	Although it may not seem like it at times, Americans are "in touch" with each other: Americans enjoy sympathy of understanding.	1.52
8.	There is no warmth or caring: it is an anticeptic view of American life.	1.51
20.	These photographs represent a de-humanized people: de-humanization knows no nationality or color.	1.37
17.	The significance of American life has to do with the freedom to "do your own thing."	1.36
2.	These photographs are a testimonial to the potential of American life.	1.07
13.	The farther along one goes in life, the less others seem to care.	-1.06
19.	America is a nation of people who cannot fulfill their dreams.	-1.21
18.	Americans preoccupy themselves with other things, probably so that they need not communicate with each other.	-1.21
23.	A tribute to the pain and suffering in American life.	-1.37
5.	Americans display their patriotism to the extent that the country is largely de-valued and de-graded.	-1.52
12.	A sense of adventure and excitement pervades the photographs.	-1.67

The statement array begins with the pronouncement that "One must have the good sense to realize that any photograph...could never be an accurate portrayal" (stmt. 30). In other words, the two subjects of Factor C feel that photographs cannot "capture" the complex realities of American life.

Much like Factor A, Factor C recognizes that the photographs represent a lack of "warmth and caring" (stmt. 8) as well as the "de-humanization" of Americans (stmt. 20). However, statements 30, 20, 2, and 12 might suggest

that the subjects are caught in the paradoxical situation of projecting upon the reality portrayed by the photographs--which represent in some sense their own experiences--and their wishes and hopes about America.

Along these lines, Factor C recognized the negative qualities of American life, but also points out that "the significance of American life has to do with the freedom to 'do your own thing'" (stmt. 17), that "Americans are 'in touch'" (stmt. 28), and that "These photographs are a testimonial to the potential of American life" (stmt. 2). The remaining statements (13, 19, 18, 23, and 25) all underscore positive aspects of America.

Factor C is quite interesting because it demonstrates that there are those who are in conflict within themselves about their experiences, on the one hand, and their wishes and hopes, on the other. It is as if the subjects simultaneously admit and deny the reality of their experiences.

Condition 2: Perceptions of America

Condition 2 provides a stated position regarding American life. Subjects were asked to imagine a set of photographs that depict their view of American life as they performed their Q-sorts. Three factors represent Condition 2 and are described as "cautiously optimistic patriotism," "self-indulgence," and "external control." To re-emphasize, Factors A and B are positively intercorrelated and they are each highly positively correlated with the "ideal" factor of Condition 3. Also, Factors A and B are virtually opposite to Factor A of Condition 1.

Factor A: Cautiously Optimistic Patriotism

Factor A, representing 10 subjects, is quite positive and accepting of American life and suggests a patriotic theme. The statement array is as follows:

		Z-score
21.	Despite what else these photographs might suggest, they emphasize pride in America and American values.	1.67
17.	The significance of American life has to do with the freedom to "do your own thing."	1.61
30.	One must have the good sense to realize that any photograph of American life can only be an experiment: it could never be an accurate portrayal.	1.48
2.	These photographs are a testimonial to the potential of American life.	1.43
28.	Although it may not seem like it at times, Americans are "in touch" with each other: Americans enjoy sympathy of understanding.	1.36
22.	Americans enjoy, fun, pleasure, and glamour.	1.16
19.	America is a nation of people who cannot fulfill their dreams.	-0.89
4.	Americans consider themselves first--all others come second.	-0.91
10.	Call it what you will--technology, science, progress--Americans are controlled and conquered by it.	-0.95
8.	There is no warmth or caring: it is an anticeptic view of American life.	-1.34
15.	Evident is the suppression of the human spirit.	-1.59
20.	These photographs represent a de-humanized people: de-humanization knows no nationality or color.	-1.96

Statement 21 sets the theme for Factor A: "Despite what else these photographs might suggest, they emphasize pride in America and American values." This suggests a patriotic theme, which is characteristic of contemporary political rhetoric. However, Factor A's patriotism is defined in terms of individual freedom (stmt. 17) and personal pleasure (stmt. 22). Furthermore, Factor A feels that despite the focus on individual freedom, "Americans are 'in touch' with each other" (stmt. 28): perhaps the common basis for communication is individuality. Moreover, Factor A's imaginary

photographs are believed to represent a "testimonial to the potential of American life" (stmt. 2). It would appear that Factor A is cautious; that is, the subjects of Factor A emphasize the "potential," not "certainty," of America. This tentativeness is further reflected in statement 10: "...any photograph of American life can only be an experiment..."

Perhaps "cautiously optimistic patriotism" best describes Factor A. The remaining statements all emphasize considerable optimism: Americans are neither "de-humanized" (stmt. 20) nor "controlled" (stmt. 10), nor "suppressed" (stmt. 15). Americans are believed to be warm and caring (stmt. 8), not selfish (stmt. 4). Of course, Americans are thought to be able to fulfill their dreams (stmt. 19).

Thus, Factor A projects an image of America that is dramatically different from that offered by Factor A of Condition 1. The emphasis is placed on patriotism and individual freedom, though Factor A points out that its view is cautious.

Factor B: Self-Indulgence

Factor B, consisting of seven subjects, is similar to Factor A in that America is viewed quite favorably. The primary difference is that Factor B is not as serious in its perspective and is considerably more pleasure-oriented. The statement array is as follows:

		Z-score
11.	America is progressing upward and onward.	2.07
22.	Americans enjoy fun, pleasure, and glamour.	1.92
28.	Although it may not seemlike it at times, Americans are "in touch" with each other: Americans enjoy sympathy of understanding.	1.41
29.	The American dream is the highway we'd all like to travel.	1.32

		Z-score
17.	The significance of American life has to do with the freedom to "do your own thing."	1.10
27.	One's first reaction is to laugh--at least mild amusement.	0.82
5.	Americans display their patriotism to the extent that the country is largely de-valued and de-graded.	-0.92
20.	These photographs represent a de-humanized people: de-humanization knows no nationality or color.	-1.07
8.	There is no warmth or caring: it is an anticeptic view of American life.	-1.13
18.	Americans preoccupy themselves with other things, probably so that they need not communicate with each other.	-1.57
19.	America is a nation of people who cannot fulfill their dreams.	-1.77
9.	America is a lonely place, a big lonely place of unhappy people.	-1.95

Factor B's focus is on "progress" (stmt. 11), a theme common to American society. However, progress is associated with, or defined in terms of, pleasure (stmt. 22), individuality (stmt. 17), and amusement (stmt. 27). Perhaps this indicates a non-serious view of American life, as if "laughing at oneself." Factor B is quite positive about America and maintains that "The American dream is the highway we'd all like to travel" (stmt. 29). Despite this emphasis on individuality and self-indulgence, Factor B quite optimistically suggests that "Americans are 'in touch'" (stmt. 28). Perhaps the common basis for American society is fun and pleasure.

The remaining statements reflect much the same: America is neither a "lonely place of unhappy people" (stmt. 9), nor is there a lack of warmth and caring (stmt. 8). Rather, Americans communicate and display concern for others (stmt. 18) and are successful at fulfilling their dreams (stmt. 19). Further-

more, Americans are neither "de-humanized" (stmt. 20), nor do they devalue or denegrate their country (stmt. 5).

Thus, it would appear that, much like Factor A, Factor B is accepting of American life. However, Factor B far more idealizes America probably because it finds pleasure as a central theme. Also, Factor B is quite certain about its view. One will recall that statement 30 ("one must have the good sense to realize that any photograph of American life can only be an experiment...") received a Z-score of +1.48 on Factor A, whereas it received a Z-score of -0.40 on Factor B. This indicates that Factor B is neutral or mildly disagrees with statement 30, which in turn suggests that the subjects of Factor B are more certain about their view of American life than are the subjects of Factor A.

Factor C: External Control

Factor C, consisting of five subjects, is considerably different from either Factor A or B of Condition 2. Moreover, it is largely uncorrelated with any of the other six factors in the study. Factor C is essentially negative in its view, though it is not as hopeless or desperate as Factor A of Condition 1. The statement array is as follows:

		Z-score
26.	Americans are rarely satisfied, and continue to search for something else in life.	2.03
28.	Although it may not seem like it at times, Americans are "in touch" with each other: Americans enjoy sympathy of understanding.	1.64
14.	It's as if we are all doing something, but no one else is watching: we're all too busy acting.	1.37
10.	Call it what you will--technology, science, progress-- Americans are controlled and conquered by it.	1.18
25.	It isn't that Americans possess material things, but rather, material things possess Americans.	1.16

		Z-score
4.	Americans consider themselves first--all others come second.	1.03
15.	Evident is the suppression of the human spirit.	-0.97
27.	One's first reaction is to laugh--at least mild amusement.	-1.08
12.	A sense of adventure and excitement pervades the photographs.	-1.28
7.	One cannot help but feel that there is considerable sarcasm in these photographs.	-1.42
21.	Despite what else these photographs might suggest, they emphasize pride in America and American values.	-1.57
3.	This is a parody of American life: any American could tell you that.	-1.60

Factor C stresses individuality (stmt. 14), the search for self-satisfaction (stmt. 26), and an American characteristic of selfishness (stmt. 4). However, despite all this, Factor C feels that "Americans are 'in touch'" (stmt. 28): perhaps the common bond for Americans is selfishness and individuality. Unlike Factors A and B, Factor C strongly feels that Americans are controlled by external "forces," such as technology, science, progress (stmt. 10) and material possessions (stmt. 25). Thus, it could be that Factor C disavows responsibility for the "social malaise" by assigning responsibility to matters that are perceived as external to our control.

Factor C regards its point of view as genuine and serious (stmts. 3, 7, and 27), but lacking in adventure (stmt. 12), possibly because Americans are thought to be controlled. Although Factor C does not extoll the virtues of American values (stmt. 21), there remains hope that the human spirit is not crushed (stmt. 15). Thus, while Factor C recognizes many difficulties, external causes are blamed, not Americans as such. However, Factor C remains hopeful that the present situation can be redressed.

Condition 3: Perceptions of Ideal America

In Condition 3, subjects were asked to represent American life in the ideal. Subjects were asked to imagine a set of photographs that depict their view of "ideal" America as they performed their Q-sorts. One factor, accounting for 25 subjects, represents Condition 3. This points up that one organized view of "ideal" America is common to virtually all subjects. Because the "ideal" factor correlates highly positively with Factors A and B of Condition 2, it is logically expected that the theme would be a coalescence of the themes for Factors A and B. The statement array is as follows:

		Z-score
11.	America is progressing upward and onward.	1.72
29.	The American dream is the highway we'd all like to travel.	1.49
2.	These photographs are a testimonial to the potential of American life.	1.43
17.	The significance of American life has to do with the freedom to "do your own thing."	1.30
16.	There is remarkable simplicity and harmony in American life.	1.26
21.	Despite what else these photographs might suggest, they emphasize pride in America and American values.	1.25
5.	Americans display their patriotism to the extent that the country is largely de-valued and de-graded.	-0.97
20.	These photographs represent a de-humanized people: de-humanization knows no nationality or color.	-1.09
19.	America is a nation of people who cannot fulfill their dreams.	-1.20
8.	There is no warmth or caring: it is an anticeptic view of American life.	-1.25
15.	Evident is the suppression of the human spirit.	-1.34
9.	America is a lonely place, a big lonely place of unhappy people.	-1.48

Indeed, the "ideal" factor is a thematic combination of Factors A and B of Condition 2, and it is truly an idealized view of American life. Prominent for the "ideal" factor are the concepts of progress (stmt. 11) and the freedom to be an individual (stmt. 17). The imaginary photographs for the factor emphasize pride in American values (stmt. 21) as well as simplicity and harmony (stmt. 16): truly a tranquil and idealistic image of America. The photographs are regarded as a "testimonial to the potential of American life" (stmt. 2)--the dream "highway we'd all like to travel" (stmt. 29).

The remaining statements underscore much the same: Americans are satisfied and happy (stmt. 9), they are warm and caring (stmt. 8), and they are neither suppressed (stmt. 15), nor de-humanized (stmt. 20). Rather, Americans are patriotic (stmt. 5) and fulfilled (stmt. 19).

IV. Summary and Conclusions

It is axiomatic in the field of communication that "meanings are in people," as David Berlo aptly put it. To this he added that "the elements and structure of a language do not themselves have meaning. They are only symbols...that cause us to bring our own meanings into play" (Berlo 1960: 175). We agree with Berlo, and others, that meaning is and should be our chief concern in communication, whether the symbolic objects of meaning are linguistic or visual.

Along these lines, therefore, this study has revealed a complex of meanings involved in perceptions of American life and Robert Frank's photographic essay about America. In Condition 1 (perceptions of Frank's photographs), Factor A is most notable because it accounts for the greatest percentage of subjects, and because it offers a basis for understanding why Frank's work is unaccepted. Factor A projects a view of America that is characteristic of an

"alienated society." Thus, subjects reject Frank's photographs not because the photographs are unrepresentative of American life, but because they evoke feelings of alienation. Theoretically considered, such feelings of alienation are within the subjects' experiential repertoires.

Condition 1's Factor B, on the other hand, accepts the pain of loneliness in search of the romance of the "American dream" In a sense, Factor B's orientation might be considered as favorable toward Frank's photographs in that the photographs evoke feelings of greatness and struggle toward a worthy goal. Factor C of Condition 1 is unusual because it demonstrates a conflict of realities: the reality of experiences symbolically represented by the photographs and the idealistic reality of wishes and hopes about America.

Turning to Condition 2 (perceptions of America), three views are offered, two of which are highly positively correlated with the "ideal" factor of Condition 3. Factor A represents a patriotic theme, stressing pride in America and American values, individualism, and pleasure. However, Factor A is somewhat guarded in its optimism and underscores that its view is a testimonial to America's potential, it is not an accurate portrayal.

Factor B, on the other hand, is "self-indulgent" and emphasizes progress, pleasure, individualism, and the goal of the "American dream." However, unlike Factor A, Factor B is quite certain about its point of view. Finally, Factor C is considerably more negative than are Factors A and B. Factor C stresses such positive matters as individualism and the search for self-fulfillment, though it places the responsibility for the negative aspects of American society on external causes.

In their various ways, the subjects of Factors A, B, and C of Condition 2 do not admit to alienation in America, not because it is out of the realm of experiences, but, we suggest, because they are defensive about it. Indeed,

Factors A and B are idealistic, perhaps unrealistic, views of America. Factor C in a sense recognizes alienation but maintains that it is due to external causes.

As for Frank's photographs, it would appear that his portrayal of American life is unacceptable precisely because it evokes feelings at a level of reality that the subjects would rather avoid: Frank's photographs do not reinforce comfortable illusions and facades that make life palatable and pleasurable.

Of course, one can only guess that contemporary perceptions of Frank's photographs are the same as those of the late 1950s. However, the criticisms by the editors of Popular Photography quoted earlier, suggest that the perceptions were quite similar. One might wonder if the passing of 25 years or so has not made substantial differences in perceptions toward America. Reich's prognosis was that changes had occurred and would continue to take effect in the consciousness of Americans. Indeed, have not the social movements of the 1960s made us more conscious of our country? Have these social movements not made Americans more critical, perhaps even cynical about the country? In many ways, Americans are more conscious and critical, and, in light of recent events surrounding government officials, the Vietnam war, and the economy, Americans may even be a bit more cynical.

However, it also appears that some perceptions are enduring, and that reminders of the "American malaise" are unappreciated and unacceptable to the American ego. Although the sample is insufficient to generalize to the broader population, the data lend support to Conlin's assessment that the 1960s had been little more than a fad. On the basis of the data presented here, we conclude that there is a tendency to view America in ideal, uncritical terms. Moreover, in light of the methodologies employed and the resulting data, we

conclude that Frank's photographs are evocative of feelings of alienation; and, although alienation is experienced, the subjects do not give alienation conscious attribution which in turn suggests a defensiveness about it.

Our interests have not directly concerned how Frank was able to visualize and document the "malaise [that] had settled upon the country," as John Brumfield points out, but rather, that Frank's photographs are perhaps as pertinent today as they were in the late 1950s--striking a sensitive nerve about America. As Frank pointed out, "it is important to see what is invisible to others..." What Frank was able to see and document, we propose, is part of the undercurrent of American experience. In this regard, his work is eminently poignant in that his photographs transcend "rhetorical reality" and address a level of reality that is subjectively experienced.

Figure 1

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Patriotism

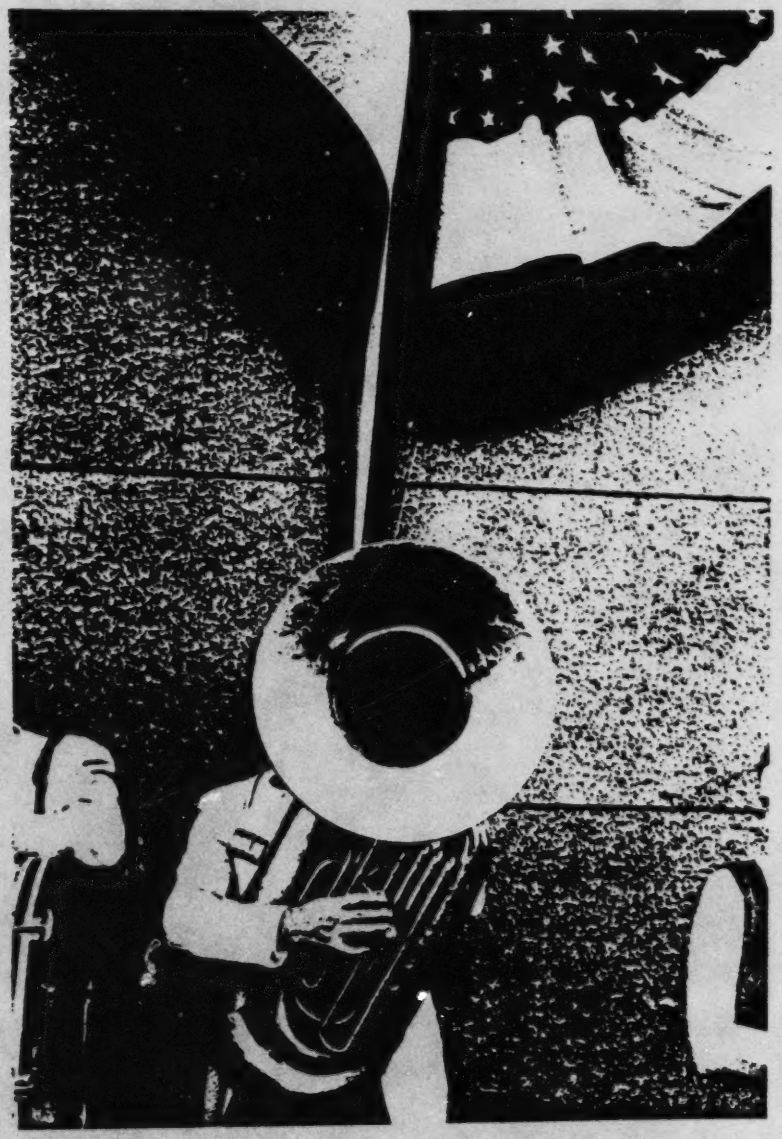

Figure 1 (cont.)

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

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2. Poverty

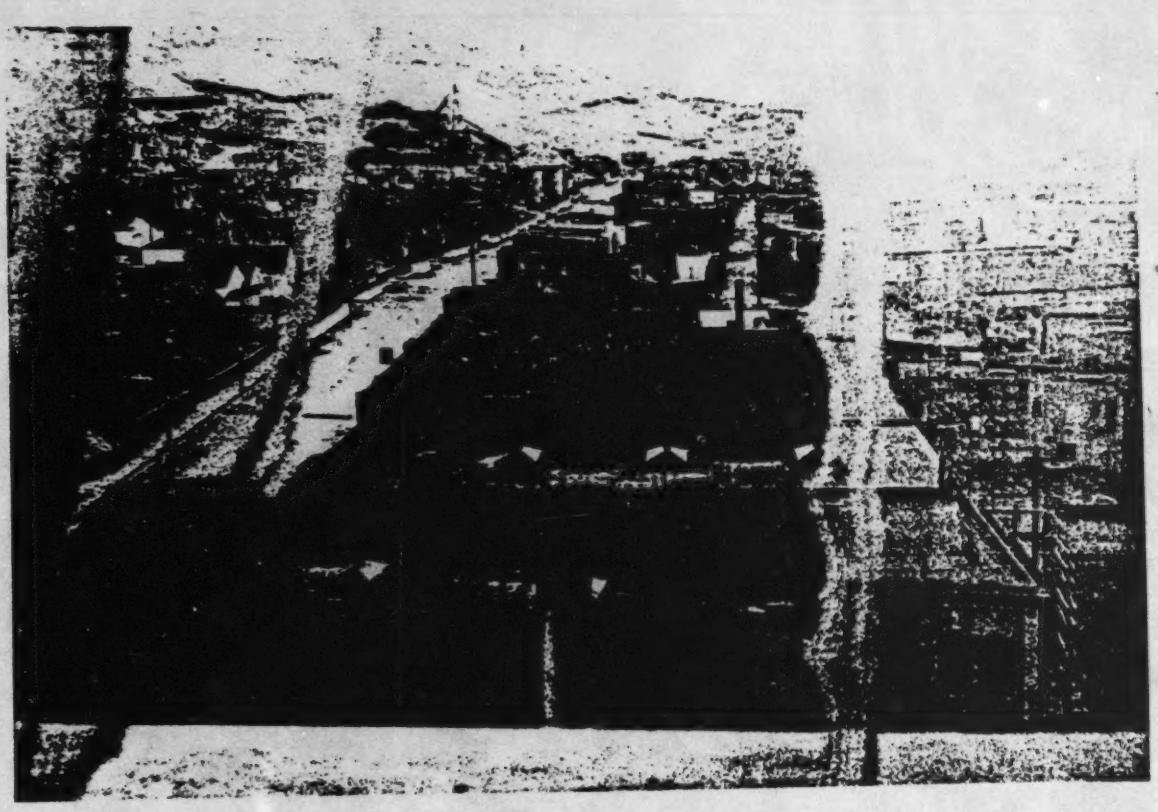

Figure 1 (cont.)

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

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3. Racism

Figure 1 (cont.)

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

4. Urban Life

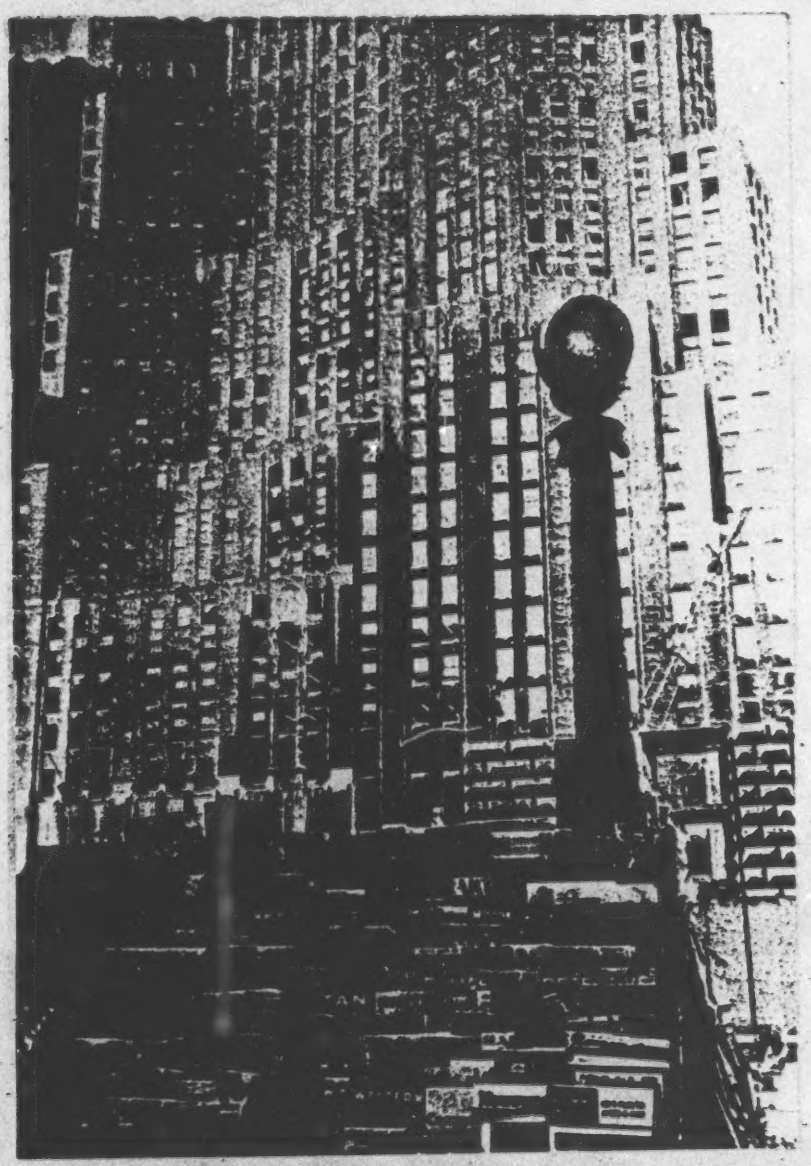

Figure 1 (cont.)

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

5. Highways

Figure 1 (cont.)

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

6. Crowds

Figure 1 (cont.)

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

7. Interiors of Public Places

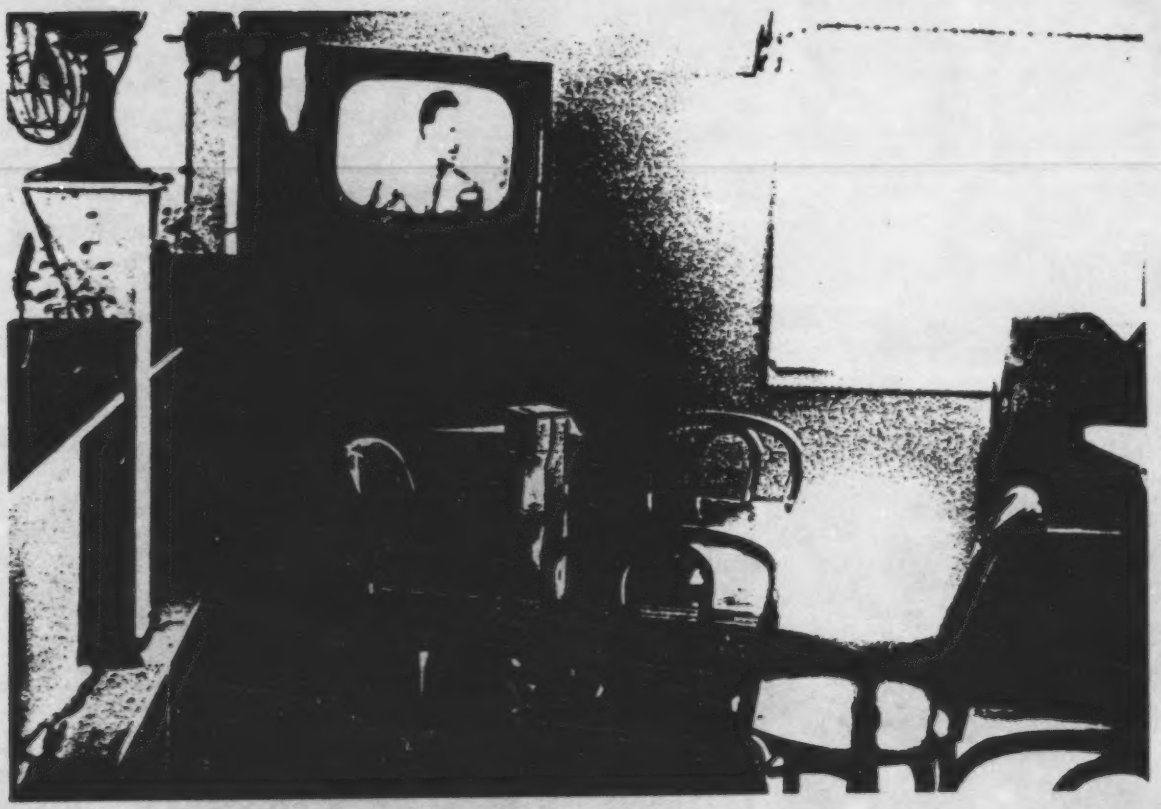

Figure 1 (cont.)

EIGHT ROBERT FRANK PHOTOGRAPHS

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8. Affected Women

Table 1

Q-SAMPLE OF 30 STATEMENTS

Positive Statements

1. Only an American could appreciate these photographs.
2. These photographs are a testimonial to the potential of American life.
3. This is a parody of American life: any American could tell you that.
6. This is a penetrating study of American life.
8. There is no warmth or caring: it is an anticeptic view of American life.
11. America is progressing upward and onward.
12. A sense of adventure and excitement pervade the photographs.
16. There is remarkable simplicity and harmony in American life.
17. The significance of American life has to do with the freedom to do as you please, to "do your own thing."
21. Despite what else these photographs might suggest, they emphasize pride in America and American values.
22. Americans enjoy fun, pleasure, and glamour.
27. One's first reaction is to laugh--at least mild amusement.
28. Although it may not seem like it at times, Americans are "in touch" with each other: Americans enjoy sympathy of understanding.
29. The American dream is the highway we'd all like to travel.
30. One must have the good sense to realize that any photograph of American life can only be an experiment: it could never be an accurate portrayal.

Table 1 (cont.)

Q-SAMPLE OF 30 STATEMENTS

Negative Statements

4. Americans consider themselves first--all others come second.

5. Americans display their patriotism to the extent that the country is largely devalued and degraded.

7. One cannot help but feel that there is considerable sarcasm in these photographs.

9. America is a lonely place, a big lonely place of unhappy people.

10. Call it what you will--technology, science, progress--Americans are controlled and conquered by it.

13. The farther along one goes in life, the less others seem to care.

14. It's as if we are all doing something, but no one else is watching: we're all too busy acting.

15. Evident is the suppression of the human spirit.

18. Americans preoccupy themselves with other things, probably so that they need not communicate with each other.

19. America is a nation of people who cannot fulfill their dreams.

20. These photographs represent a dehumanized people: dehumanization knows no nationality or color.

23. A tribute to the pain and suffering in American life.

24. These photographs represent fear of separation and change.

25. It isn't that Americans possess material things, but rather, material things possess Americans.

26. Americans are rarely satisfied, and continue to search for something else in life.

Table 2

FACTOR MATRICES FOR 26 SUBJECTS

AND THREE CONDITIONS OF INSTRUCTION

Condition 1: Perceptions of Frank's Photographs				Condition 2: Perceptions of America				Condition 3: Perceptions of Ideal America	
Ss	Factors			Ss	Factors			Ss	Factor
	A	B	C		A	B	C		A
S25	90 *	-11	-10	S23	84 *	-14	18	S17	90 *
S08	86 *	06	03	S24	67 *	-30	42	S10	88 *
S09	83 *	07	00	S07	66 *	22	00	S25	87 *
S22	79 *	-06	13	S18	66 *	12	24	S01	86 *
S02	75 *	-13	-26	S09	-64 *	03	-40	S13	86 *
S18	73 *	17	-20	S22	63 *	09	38	S18	85 *
S11	73 *	26	-36	S01	58 *	29	42	S23	85 *
S15	71 *	-22	-02	S16	48 *	-09	07	S04	84 *
S07	69 *	-17	-27	S06	47 *	03	22	S11	84 *
S23	61 *	-10	02	S26	44 *	-26	-16	S22	84 *
S26	59 *	29	-21	S02	35	83 *	01	S26	84 *
S10	57 *	27	33	S10	18	66 *	18	S14	83 *
S16	56 *	-22	20	S04	41	62 *	28	S08	81 *
S05	42 *	-07	-33	S11	-39	-57 *	25	S06	80 *
S03	41 *	-33	-04	S21	06	43 *	04	S02	72 *
S01	08	62 *	04	S12	-10	41 *	08	S03	71 *
S13	12	57 *	-13	S05	12	39 *	02	S24	71 *
S17	-13	52 *	18	S25	-05	05	62 *	S07	68 *
S24	-31	-14	65 *	S13	05	23	56 *	S05	64 *
S04	02	13	44 *	S20	-17	-01	54 *	S16	58 *
S06	26	-04	23	S19	-32	-13	51 *	S15	48 *
S12	06	-32	-17	S17	22	10	42 *	S09	46 *
S14	-41	47	31	S03	47	27	48	S21	45 *
S19	01	-10	-23	S08	-50	-50	-05	S20	41 *
S20	18	-13	01	S14	33	-01	34	S19	39 *
S21	-25	-19	-21	S15	22	25	24	S12	-33

Note 1: Decimal points are omitted.
Note 2: Asterisk (*) indicates subjects assigned to factors.
Note 3: Odd-numbered subjects are males and even-numbered subjects are females. Subjects are American-born Caucasians between the ages of 19 and 24.

Table 3

FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX

		Condition 1: Perceptions of Frank's Photographs (Factors)			Condition 2: Perceptions of America (Factors)			Condition 3: Perceptions of Ideal America (Factor)
		A	B	C	A	B	C	A
Condition 1 (Factors)	A	---						
	B	04	---					
	C	-31	-15	---				
Condition 2 (Factors)	A	-88	02	34	---			
	B	-70	-09	43	59	---		
	C	14	33	19	-08	08	---	
Condition 3 (Factor)	A	-92	11	39	86	74	01	---

Note: Decimal points are omitted.

Notes

1 For a discussion of the appropriateness of the centroid factor analytic model for the analysis of Q-data, see Stephenson [1953: 30-46]. Also see, Brown [1980: 208-222].

2 The Guilford-Lacey criterion specifies that factor extraction ceases when the product of the two highest factor loadings falls below $1/N^{\frac{1}{2}}$.

3 Spearman weights were used in the estimation of factor-scores.

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